2. Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche



may be, all such assemblies are welcome events that provide opportunities for friendly conversation, courtship, gossip, and the exchange of news. Regardless of special functions, too, these events always include in the schedule of activities, feasting, drinking, oratory, and singing.

It is on such occasions that some of the celebrants, generally under the stimulus of drink, may give vent to their inner feelings by improvising songs.[10] The effects of these improvisations are not necessarily slight or temporary. They may lead to the correction of abuses, or they may serve a totally different purpose, for auditors sometimes memorise the songs that strike their fancy and later repeat them from time to time at home. Children are thus given an opportunity to become acquainted with various compositions, which their elders encourage them to learn to sing. The Mapuche recognise that this is an educational technique, and informants point out that it enables youngsters to acquire skill in singing at the same time that it gives them an awareness of the subtleties of their native tongue and an insight into the customs and traditions of their tribe.

## ASSEMBLY SONGS: TEXTS FREE TRANSLATIONS, AND INTERPRETATIONS

The material contained in this section was obtained in Santiago late in May, 1948, from Mr. J. M. Collío Huaiquilaf,[11] and was rechecked with him about two months later. He wrote

araucanas," Rev. folklore chileno, Ano III, Entrega 4 (1912), 171 and footnotes 1 and 2.

[10] Cf. Guevara, op. cit., p. 9.

[11] Sr. J. Martín Collío Huaiquilaf is not entirely unknown to North American anthropologists. He was in the United States after the close of the First World War, and he occasionally served as an informant to Dr. Speck and Dr. Hallowell at the University of Pennsylvania. He also conferred with Dr. Brand in Santiago in March, 1941, and Brand has published a trilingual text furnished by Collío. See D. D. Brand, op. cit., pp. 50, 51-52. See also A. I. Hallowell, "Araucanian Parallels to the Omaha Sibship Pattern," Amer. Anthropol., XLV (1943), 489-91.

Mr. Collío formerly lived on the reducción called Carrerrifle, near Cherchel, but for some years past he has been a resident of Santiago. He speaks Araucanian and Spanish fluently and has some knowledge of English. I found him to be a helpful and reliable informant, and I am deeply grateful for all the assistance he gave me.

9:Hallowell E-4 (no date)1943 SG4 Araucanians SG4



of kinship systems of the Omaha and Crow types, with specific social traits. With some exceptions, marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, patrilocal residence after marriage, patrilineal descent and exogamic organization, are coincidental with the Omaha pattern. From the geographical standpoint, these associated features occur in two centers in North America: in certain parts of California, on the one hand, and among certain tribes of the plains and Eastern Woodlands, on the other. An extra-American center is East Africa. Since, at present, there seems to be no reason for assuming historical contacts between these three centers, Dr. Lowie concludes that we have a case of "repeated independent origins," diffusion within limited areas and a probable functional correlation between the kinship type and social traits.

I wish to lend support to Dr. Lowie's conclusions by calling attention to a fourth region, where a similar association of the Omaha pattern with the social features referred to, appears to occur.

Some years ago (1922) I obtained a set of kinship terms from Mr. J. Martin Collio Huequilief, an Araucanian Indian who was then staying in Philadelphia. At the time I was not familiar with the Omaha pattern but was greatly impressed with the close correlation of the use of terms and the marriage customs which he described. Later I read Gifford's account of the Miwok[1] and became cognizant of the occurrence of the same correlated features elsewhere. Since my data were based on information obtained from a single informant, however, I hesitated to publish it, particularly as a superficial review of the literature dealing with the Araucanians failed to yield information which elucidated or confirmed the sociological side of the problem. But as I now see it, it seems extremely unlikely that my informant could have fabricated the Omaha system as well as its associated customs. He was particularly clear in respect to the customs of marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, although I have not been able to find any published reference to this type of preferential mating. He was also positive in respect to the customs of patrilocal residence, patrilineal inheritance and succession, and a very close association between the father's sister and her cross nieces and nephews. But I could elicit nothing from him which suggested the presence of exogamous father clans.

Since obtaining the data from Collio, I have been checking the kinship vocabulary I secured from him with all the published vocabularies from Valdivia (1606) down to the present, in order to see whether it is possible to establish the occurrence of the Omaha pattern in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The results so far have been somewhat discouraging since the elucidation of the use of terms in the older records is not altogether satisfactory and there is some negative evidence. On the other hand, there may have been changes in the kinship system and in social organization during the historic period. This possibility must be considered especially since Latcham,[2] the foremost student of Araucanian history and ethnology, has attempted to demonstrate the occurrence of a totemic clan organization with matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence for the old Araucanians.[3] A systematic investigation of the contemporary social organi-

[1] E. W. Gifford, *California Kinship Terminologies* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, No. 18), pp. 1-285, with 29 maps, 1922.

[2] R. E. Latcham, *Ethnology of the Araucanians* (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XXXVIII, 1908), pp. 258-308, and *La organización social y las creencias religiosas de los antiguos araucanos* (1924).

To: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4

# LIST OF INFORMANTS

## CHILE

*Alepún area*

María Calfío and her husband
Francisco Canicúl and his mother
Olegario Canicúl and his mother
Pascho Canicúl
Rosario Huaiao de Canicúl
Andrés Eladio Huaiao
Francisca Pulquillanca de Huaiao
Lorenzo Huaiao de Llanlaf
Alberto Llanlaf
Antonio Llanlaf Martín de Llanlaf
Artemio Llanlaf and an old uncle
Arturo Llanlaf
Augustina Llanlaf and her mother
Benjamín Llanlaf and his parents
Delsiro Llanlaf
Dolores Llanlaf and her mother
Elías Llanlaf
Flavio Quilaqueo and her father
Rosenvinda Llanlaf
Hortensia Llanlaf and her mother
Isolina Llanlaf
Juan Llanlaf (30 years old)
Juan Llanlaf (12 years old)
Justino Quilaqueo Llanlaf
Manuella Llanlaf and her grandmother
María Llanlaf Nahuelquen de Llanlaf
Marcelina Pichún de Llanlaf
Pablo Llanlaf and his grandmother
Rosardo Llanlaf
Rosario Llanlaf
Soledino Llanlaf
Teresa Llanlaf
Victoriano Llanlaf
Zacarías Llanlaf

Ignacio Adolfo Llanlaf Marín 115
Pedro Martín
Clara Pichún
Pedro Pichún
Lenina Llanlaf de Quilaqueo
Oswaldo Quilaqueo and his father
Avelino Raipán
José Raipán and his parents

*Panguipulli area*

Delphina Antilén
Domingo Huenun
Teresa Huetra de Huenun

*Coñaripe area*

Ernestina Huenuñanko Antemilla
Elías Antemilla
Josephina Llanlaquín Antemilla de Antemilla
Carlos Huenuñanko
Carmela Antemilla de Huenuñanko
Francisco Huenuñanko
Emilia Millanao de Huenuñan
Manuel Huenuñan
Margarita Ankapán de Huenuñan
Rosamel Antemilla Painilaf

*Boroa area*

Andrea Sue de Calfil
Juan Huenul
Carmel Amol Llanlánao
Juana Llanlánao
Antonia Pichún
Francisca Anean de Pichún
Llanlán Sue

## ARGENTINA

*Temuipil*

Florentino Sosa (Chilean Araucanian, 24 years in Argentina)
Antonia Cayún
Matilde Cayún

Olinda Carabantes
Lorenza Carabantes de Epulaf
María Carabantes de Quintrileuvul
José Morales
Juan Quintrileuvul

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucaniana SG4



● 115

Quilapayún
José Santos Arango
Edwina Chesapeake and her two sisters
Victoria Chesapeake
Cleola Carabalera
Francisco Carabalera
Teorinda Carabalera
Mercedes Kennibal de Chesapeake
María Lelfo

*Pigé*
Sofía Arango
Rosa Arango
Pedro Carabalera
Kalapun

Juana Naipan
Petrona Naipan
Manuela Vera

*Lago Lolog*
Genaro Navarro

*Collín Curé (Los Ignacios)*
Francisco Nanculeuf

*Malleo*
Chanilá Huevara de Rahuaco
Humberto Rumbold
Francisco Rumbold (Chilean Araucanian, 25 years in Argentina)
Manuel Pichalilla

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Chile

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucaniana SG4
Chile

Fuegian men (Alacaluf): 1, 4, Cóndor type; side and front views. 2, Alacaluf man.

115 ●
142
241

[A 92 (C)]

Catalogue information: c. Sixteen-year-old boy: a, b. Two views of one of child informants

18. Hilger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Cañete informants: 1, 2, Two views of one of chief informants, and 3, his daughter.

[p. 92(a)]

Ib: Illigeo E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

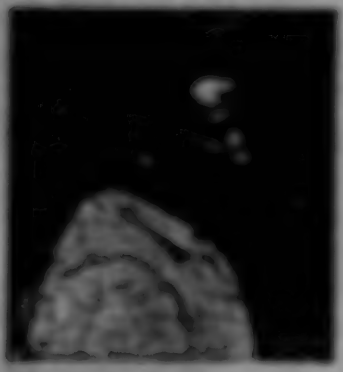
115
193
291

[p. 92(F)]

[illegible] Wilgor E.-S (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Arenosolone SG4

Argentina



[illegible]

[p. 268(A)]

08: Illiger E-5 (1966-1952) 1997
SO4 Arxeoniano SO4
Argentina



[illegible]

[illegible]

16: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Arsenaninae SG4
Argentina

[p. 916 (C)]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche



may refuse the suit or delay the marriage. In any case, the groom's lineage is placed in a position clearly inferior to that of the bride's.

Titiev's assertion that there is an approximately equal exchange of marriage wealth in which "neither party expects to gain very much . . . any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment" (1951: 101) is an untenable observation. In the absence of a conceptual scheme of Mapuche marriage alliances it is easy enough to see how Titiev was misled by informants' statements to this effect. For one thing, the most loquacious informants seem very interested in convincing the outsider that Mapuche customs are pretty much in line with those of local Chileans, and that the exchange of gifts at marriage is an equal expression of friendship, mutual respect, and so forth. Whatever gift exchange might mean among Chilean peasants, the Mapuche marriage negotiations deny any conception of equality, and a carefully elicited explanation of the details of the negotiations and nuptial acts reveals that the exchange of wealth is far from being equal. There is an important imbalance of brideprice payment, without which traditional marriage could not take place.

There is much haggling over marriage wealth, with the result that the economic value of the most important moveable items of brideprice and dowry (cattle) tend to cancel each other. In this sense, "neither party expects to gain very much." But even with regard to cattle there is really no equality after the initial ostentatious exchange is made, since part of the brideprice animals is always used to provide meat for the wedding guests. The groom's people provide the meat and the bride's father controls its distribution and use.

Beyond this "equal" exchange of moveable goods, however, is the groom's farmland which comes under consideration. Both parties to the marriage are quite concerned with this land. That of the groom emphasizes its richness and other qualities. The bride will exercise lifelong rights over this land, even after her husband's death, and this is stressed. This transfer of limited-use rights to the bride is the *sine qua non* of traditional marriage. Without land, made available by the lineage of the groom, marriage tends to involve atypical uxorilocal residence or